

State Department and Defense Department Study on the Effectiveness of the IMET Program: 2007-2009

Conducted by the Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management and the Air Force Institute of Technology

State Department and DISAM Study on the Effectiveness of the International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program

By Dr. Mark Ahles, Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management Dr. Michael T. Rehg, Air Force Institute of Technology and California State University, Chico Mr. Aaron Prince, Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management Ms. Litsu Rehak, Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management

Executive Summary

This paper analyzes the results of a survey administered to a representative sample of International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program graduates in 2007-2009 at US military schools. The survey focuses on questions related to the "purposes" of IMET as defined in US law: (1) effective and mutually beneficial relations and increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries in furtherance of the goals of international peace and security; (2) improved ability of participating foreign countries to utilize their resources with maximum effectiveness, thereby contributing to greater self-reliance by such countries; and (3) to increase the awareness of nationals of foreign countries participating in such activities of basic issues involving internationally recognized human rights

All IMET students at a statistically-representative sample of schools completed an online questionnaire at graduation assessing their self-perception of any gain in knowledge and understanding related to IMET purposes. An analysis of the results of the surveys shows a strong increase in student understanding of the goals of international peace and security, utilization of defense resources, increased military capability, and improved understanding of internationally recognized human rights. Therefore the IMET program is achieving its Foreign Assistance Act mandated purpose.

This paper conducts further detailed analysis and makes four recommendations based upon this analysis:

1. The IMETP should continue. It meets its mandated purposes at very low cost to the US each year (less than \$100 million). Other studies show great benefit to the US forces and the rise of IMET graduates to positions of prominence in

- their home nations. IMET offers great benefit to the US taxpayers and improves the perceptions of the US in the minds of graduates.
- 2. The IMETP should receive additional funding to increase student training in the United States. For over fifteen years, Republicans and Democrats have argued that IMET should increase to \$100 million. Inflation adjusted, this target value would exceed \$150 million since the \$100 million proposed as a long-term goal by President Clinton's administration in te late 1990s. The proven benefits of this program justify such an increase along with an increase in international student capacity at US military schools.
- 3. IMET expansion should include maximum participation in US residence courses. Short duration mobile training teams likely would not have the same benefits as indicated in this study—but further research would need to be conducted to validate this opinion.
- 4. Professional military education courses should continue as the cornerstone of the IMETP. In every question category, graduates of PME returned more positive scores indicating greater benefit from their training. PME also permits the US to reach the "best and brightest" of our emerging partners.

"The IMET program is a great opportunity for military personnel around the world to develop their skills and better understand the US approach to dealing with issues worldwide. It builds connections that will hopefully facilitate diplomacy and peaceful resolution of crises."—2008 US-trained international military student

Introduction

The United States government conducts a wide variety of foreign aid programs. Significant among these are US security assistance programs. Security Assistance programs authorize military sales and fund the US State Department grants of militaryrelated equipment, support, training, and services to friendly and allied nations. In addition, Congress has authorized and made funds available for the US military to provide military equipment, services, and training to allied nations under a variety of security cooperation programs. The vast majority of security cooperation and security assistance programs provide and supports military equipment. Although less financially significant, the US State Department and the Department of Defense also fund military education and training of recipient nations by the US military via a variety of programs.

Each year the US military conducts extensive training of our foreign military partners under security cooperation and security assistance programs—averaging approximately 75,000 total students each year. In 2006, for example, the US trained 77,100 students from 149 countries with a total training value of \$431.3 million.¹ These students represented every region of the world, military and civilian defense staff, and officers and enlisted soldiers. Training and education ranged from enlisted basic schools through senior officer professional military education.

The training for the majority of these students is funded directly by a relatively small number of more prosperous US friends and allies through the foreign military sales process. Most nations, however, do not have sufficient resources to fund training of their officers in the United States. To permit security assistance training with these nations, representing the majority of the world's nations, Congress authorized the International Military Education and Training Program (IMETP or IMET) in 1976. Because IMET permits training and education with the 140 partner-nations (2008 numbers)² with whom the US military might otherwise be unable to partner (or would have limited options due to limited partner nation funds) it is an invaluable engagement tool for US international efforts. As previously stated, in 2006 the US trained with 149 partner nations. 107 of these nation's students were funded via IMET.3 These students represent a wide range of military ranks—with many key senior leaders participating in IMET funded training. Because of the breadth and reach of the IMET program, it is the flagship of US military training efforts.

The US Congress requires evaluation of all government programs regarding performance as related to program goals and measurements (Government Performance and Results Act of 1993).4 The State Department meets this requirement in the annual Congressional Budget Justification by describing the broad IMET goals and specific country allocations and plans.⁵ This performance measurement, however, does not indicate if the program is meeting the broader Congressional purposes of the IMET program. Until 2007 the US Defense and State Departments had never conducted a wide-spread analysis as to the effectiveness of the IMETP in meeting these Congressionally mandated goals. In 2007, the US State Department requested that the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) assist in just such an evaluation of the IMETP. State Department designed a survey for IMET students. A long-term study analyzing of the results of this survey would be used to demonstrate IMET performance (or lack thereof) and potential areas for improvement in the execution of the IMETP.

This paper analyzes the surveys of IMET graduates in 2007, 2008, and 2009 to determine if IMET is accomplishing the legal goals of the program. Analysis of the survey results will also show areas for program improvement. The analysis will show that the International Military and Education Training Program does meets the congressionally mandated purpose for the program.

Background And Related Research

Congress initially authorized the International Military Education and Training Program in 1976 with two purposes: (1) to encourage effective and mutually beneficial relations and increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries in furtherance of the goals of international peace and security; (2) to improve the ability of participating foreign countries to utilize their resources, including defense articles and defense services obtained by them from the United States, with maximum effectiveness, thereby contributing to greater self-reliance by such countries. A third goal, (3) to increase the awareness of nationals of foreign countries participating in such activities of basic issues involving internationally recognized human rights, was added as a purpose in 1978.6

Due to the often contentious nature of international military training (not all recipient militaries have broad support in the United States), a number of American and/or international organizations have concerns with these programs (Amnesty International's Report on Human Rights Violations in Countries Receiving US Security Assistance, ⁷ for example) and cite anecdotes related to the IMET to demonstrate program failure, but they do not conduct analytic research to validate their broad concerns. The one in-depth book on the topic, Clarke, Connor, and Ellis's Send Guns and Money: Security Assistance and US Foreign Policy⁸ provides a comprehensive overview of US Security Assistance Programs and their relationship to National Security. The book is a broad exploration of the history and current execution (macro level only) of US programs—but not an evaluation of IMET.

A number of primarily military writers have analyzed aspects of the IMET program. US senior military school students have done a number of IMET papers and The Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management Journal provides a further wealth of such information. All of these papers typically are based upon a single writer's SA experiences and do provide excellent background material. Brewer ("United States Security Assistance Training of Latin American Militaries: Intentions and Results"10) and Crawford ("The Search for Stability in Sub-Saharan Africa: An American Perspective"11), in their respective research, provide a good sample of Security Assistance research within the military. Calhoun, in his graduate thesis "Evaluating Security Assistance Programs: Performance Evaluation and the Expanded International Military Education and Training (E-IMET) Program"12 at the Naval Postgraduate School, proposes a method for evaluating the Expanded International Military Education and Training Program (E-IMET), but Calhoun's proposed evaluation was never implemented. Other research (Cope, ¹³ Keeling, ¹⁴ Kratsas, ¹⁵ and Reynolds ¹⁶) explore the IMET program's value in specific regions. Each of the studies demonstrates that the IMET program has value as specifically studied, and that the program provides and will continue to provide significant advantages to the US in foreign relations and military operations. Again, however, the research does not focus on the entirety of the IMET program, just specific countries or regions.

Congress has often asked questions of both the State and Defense Departments regarding the efficacy of foreign military training. The United States Government Accountability Office conducted a 1990 report designed to make general observations on the IMET program based upon a request by Senators Leahy and Graham in 1990. Specifically, the GAO attempted to determine "whether the Department of State and Defense had (1) complied with program policies and (2) met the US foreign policy objective of exposing IMET trainees to US values, including human rights."17 In broad terms, they reported that the IMETP was exposing IMET trainees to US values and human rights. This was a beneficial finding, but not a broad validation that IMET was meeting its purpose as designed. For example, the 2002 amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act stated in section 581 that "Not later than June 30, 2003, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, shall submit a report to the Committees on Appropriations describing in detail the steps that the Departments of State and Defense are making to improve performance evaluation procedures for the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program and the progress that the Departments of State and Defense are making in implementing section 548 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961."18 The response was a report on the existing programs (not publically accessible) and a decision by the Political-Military Bureau of the State Department to further pursue a more comprehensive study.

The US Defense and State Departments have had numerous and valuable anecdotal stories of the success of IMET. Each year every embassy provides a list of IMET graduates in "positions of prominence" as part of their Combined Education and Training Program Plan. These success stories are similar to Amnesty International's report—they validate individual successes, but not broad program success. Specific school curriculum are also validated as to their content relationship to IMET. But until 2005, neither department had directed a broad attempt to demonstrate that the IMET program as a whole is accomplishing its legal purpose. Recognizing that both departments could improve IMET performance evaluation, the State Department and DSCA has recently funded two efforts to provide a more comprehensive evaluation of IMET.

One of the projects was conducted by the Center for Civil-Military Relations (CCMR) at the Naval Post Graduate School (NPS). This study was conducted in 2007 and included interviews with US policy–makers, administrators, and US security assistance staff in-country, a written survey instrument administered to embassy security assistance staff, and a separate survey instrument administered by the CCMR research team to graduates of IMET programs in sixteen countries with an emphasis on graduates who had completed master's or doctoral degree programs.

This study concluded that "the findings from the analysis of the quantitative data are supported by nine findings from the qualitative data. The findings include:

- 94 percent of respondents reported that their IMET experience either significantly or somewhat increased their knowledge within their specialty.
- 88 percent of respondents reported that their IMET experience either significantly or somewhat increased their knowledge outside of their specialty.
- 95 percent of respondents reported increased knowledge of US systems and practices."²⁰

This study's results reflect very positively upon IMET, but are results primarily for senior officers attending graduate education. These officers are critical to IMET, but only represent dozens of the thousands of IMET graduates each year. So although extremely valuable, this study did not validate the performance of the entire IMET program.

The "IMET Survey"

The second study, or the "IMET Survey," is the subject of this paper's analysis. It began with a proof-of-concept in 2006. The questions for the survey were designed by a team of State Department staff experienced in surveys of international subjects. These questions (listed below) approached the goals of IMET from a variety of overlapping angles. The Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management was then asked to implement and analyze the results of this survey (the Air Force Institute of Technology has partnered with DISAM in the research).

Students were asked to provide a likert-scale response (value 1–4 relating to each question, using an even number designed specifically to force a positive or negative response with a "no comment" option which was not considered in survey results) to the following questions related to the FAA purposes of IMET:

FAA IMET Purpose One: Encourage effective and mutually beneficial relations and increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries in furtherance of the goals of international peace and security.

FAA IMET Purpose Two: Improve the ability of participating foreign countries to utilize their resources, including defense articles and defense services obtained by them from the United States, with maximum effectiveness, thereby contributing to greater self-reliance by such countries.

FAAIMET Purpose Three: Increase the awareness of nationals of foreign countries participating in such activities of basic issues involving internationally recognized human rights.

	FAA Purpose One	FAA Purpose Two	FAA Purpose Three
How much did your training and other experiences in the United States improve your ability to successfully participate (as a member of a military organization in your own country) in a combined military activity with US forces or other multinational forces?	√		
How much did you learn about US military terminology?	✓		
How much did you learn about equipment, tactics, and procedures of a US/multinational force?	1	1	
How much did you learn about US military command and control structure and planning?	1	1	
Before training, what is your view of the civilian control of the military?	1		1
After training, what is your view of the civilian control of the military?	1		1

Before training, what was your view of democracy in the United States?	1		
After training, what is your view of democracy in the United States?	1		
How beneficial was this training for your provessional development		1	
Before training, what was your understanding of international human rights standards?			1
After training, what was your understanding of international human rights standards?			✓
Did the training meet your expectations?			
How valuable was this training for your professional development?			

In addition, narrative data was gathered to provide further details as to the students' learning under IMET and to permit an automated analysis of narrative responses in comparison to qualitative responses.

The survey method is similar to advertising focus group questions where corporations ask participants before/after questions on products. In this case the "focus group" questions are for IMET students and the product is US training. The result is the IMET students' perceptions of how well the US has achieved the purposes of the IMETP.

This technique relies heavily upon international relations theory to determine positive results for the US based upon the students' experiences in the US For years, the primary measurements of the IMETP have been concrete, but limited: how many students trained and educated, how many IMET graduates in positions of prominence, and how well did the Departments of State and Defense execute the assigned budget. These are "real" measures. But these concrete measurements ignore the more important question of whether IMET impacts the behavior of the students and their governments (or military components of their governments). International relations "Realists" might argue that the key measures of success for IMET is related somehow to measures of the behavior of the IMET graduates governments as influenced by the graduates modified behavior (such as: after X IMET students, recipient countries are Y% more likely to participate in multilateral peace training exercises). Such measurements (which do not exist) could be an aid in evaluating IMET, but these measurements would be extremely difficult to determine and to control for outside interference.

Another approach would indicate that "Perhaps both material reality and perception are important."21 The Constructivist school of international relations holds that "ideas, attitudes, and preferences really matter in international relations. Interests are not objective realities once and for all, like a rock or a tree, but what we "believe" them to be-with the "we" being the social groups to which we belong."22 In the Constructivist theory of international relations, the US can determine that it will impact the behavior of its international partners by altering the people of the partner nation's perceptions of the United States. The "IMET Survey" attempts to measure the change in perspective of a critical group of that population, military leaders, by the most simple and direct method-measuring the IMET students' self described change in behavior. So if the first mandated purpose of IMET is to "Encourage effective and mutually beneficial relations and increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries," then constructivism would hold that such relations should improve if we can alter the perceptions of the United States by foreign leaders (and their followers) in a positive direction. This, then, is the goal of the "IMET Survey"—to look for positive, or negative, changes in perception of IMET graduates based upon their IMET experience.

Thus an "IMET Survey" of a representative sample of <u>all</u> IMET graduates, not just a national or school subset, is critical to complete an evaluation of the value of IMET. The State Department's "IMET Survey" questions offer the opportunity for a complete analysis of IMET graduates as they complete their training and education in the United States. An analysis of the survey questions will also

permit multiple queries as to the conduct of IMET such as:

- Which type of training has the most positive impact upon students?
- What categories of students are impacted most positively by IMET?
- How can the execution of the IMETP be altered to enhance the benefits, or decrease the problems, of IMET?

Initial results of a prototype "IMET Survey" conducted in 2006 demonstrated that students were willing to answer the online questionaire, that they were willing to give both positive and negative feedback, and that an analysis of qualitative responses (narrative feedback) validated the quantitative results. All that remained was to gather and analyze more results to have a large enough data set to draw

conclusions. In 2006, DSCA authorized full-scale implementation of the IMET Survey permitting the analysis which follows.

A group of schools were selected for the study which would match the demographics of the entire IMET population in world regions, military status, and type of training received. All intermediate and senior level officer professional military education courses were also included due to the high-interest in Congress in these programs. Participation in the study was mandated by the Department of Defense for the schools, but individual student participation was optional. Students were asked to complete the online survey during "out processing" at their final training installation as they prepared to return to their home nation.

Participating Military Schools

(The Army War College was also selected but it has been unable to coordinate student participation)

San Antonio, Texas—Defense Language Institute English Language Center
Fort Benning, Georgia—Infantry School
Maxwell AFB, Alabama—Air University
Monterey, California—Defense Resources Management Institute
Yorktown, Viriginia—Coast Guard Training Center
San Antonio, Texas—Army Medical Department Center and School
Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri—Engineer School
Quantico, Virginia—Commanding General, Education Command
Fort Bliss, Texas—Sergeants Major Academy
Monterey, California—Naval Postgraduate School
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas—Command and General Staff College
Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri—Military Police School
Fort Bliss, Texas—Air Defense Artillery School
Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio—Defense Institute of Security Assistance Managment
Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri—Chemical School
Camp LeJune, North Carolina—USMC School of Infantry (East)
Fort Benning, Georgia—Non-Commissioned Officer Academy
Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Assistance
Campe LeJune, North Carolina—USMC Engineer School
Campe LeJune, North Carolina—USMC Staff NCO Academy (East)
Campe LeJune, North Carolina—USMC Combat Service Support School
Keesler AFB, Mississippi

Monterey, California—Center for Civil-Military Relations

Randolph AFB, Texas—I 2th Operations Support Squadron

Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri—Centere for SEABEES and Facilities Engineering Detachment

Fort McNair, Washington DC—National Defense University (includes NWC, ICAF, and IRMC)

San Antonio, Texas—Brooke Army Medical Center

Camp Pendleton, California—USMC Staff NCO Academy (West)

Fort Bliss, Texas—USAMMC (Hawk training only)

Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri—Non-Commissioned Officer Academy

Inter-American Defense College

Fort Bliss, Texas—Non-Commissioned Officer Academy

Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri—MANSCEN Army Training Center

San Antonio, Texas—Joint Medical Readiness Training Institute

San Antonio, Texas—Non-Commissioned Officer Academy

Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio—Air Force Institute of Technology

San Antonio, Texas—Defense Language Institute English Language Center

Fort Benning, Georgia—Infantry School

The "IMET Survey" Results

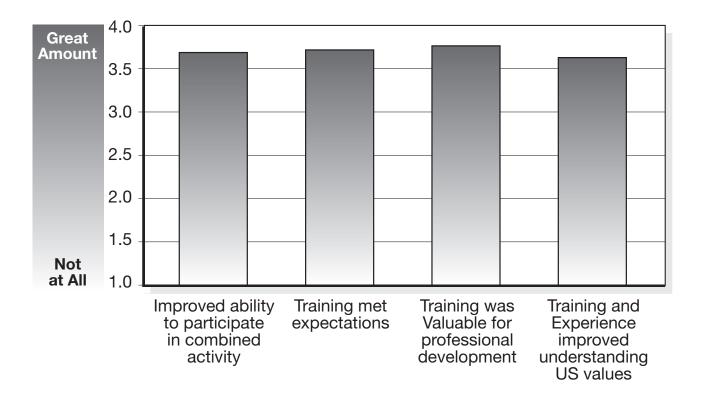
The IMET Survey results have meaning in many dimensions. First, each individual question delves into a specific topic of interest for the Department of State in support of the Congressionally mandated purposes of IMET. Second, reviewing select subsets of data (different regions, different training types, etc) can influence decisions upon the future "best uses" of IMET.

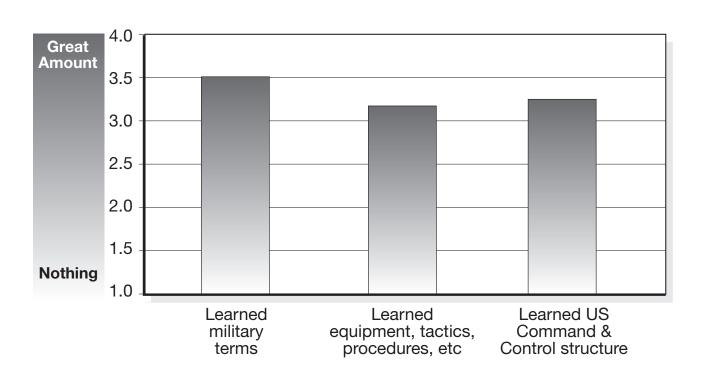
Also meaningful are the narrative responses to the questions. The surveys have provided tens of thousands of written clarification of the survey results. In the discussion of the results below, select narratives assist in describing a subset of students' perceptions of the questions.

The discussion of specific responses are grouped below into two broad discussions – questions on the value of the training and questions relating to an understanding of US democracy, international human rights, and civilian control of the military.

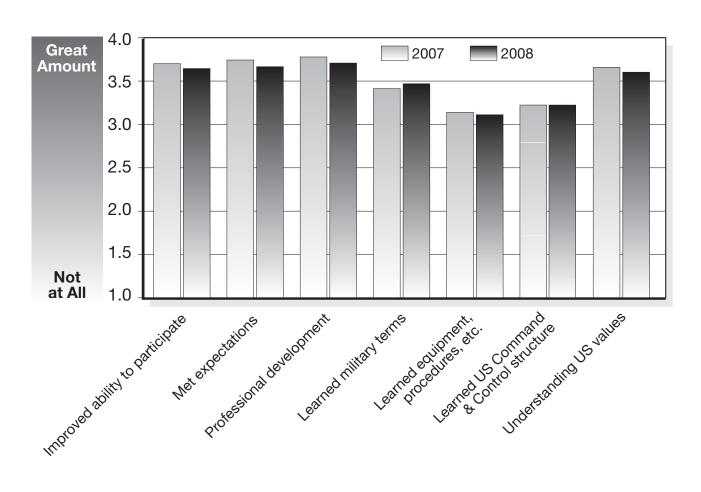
Questions relating to the value of the training and education received:

- How much did your training and other experiences in the United States improve your ability to successfully participate (as a member of a military organization in your own country) in a combined military activity with US forces or other multi-national forces? (Improved ability partic.)
- Did the training meet your expectations? (Met expectations)
- How valuable was this training for your professional development? Profession develop)
- How much did you learn about US military terminology? (Learned mil terms)
- How much did you learn about equipment, tactics, and procedures of a US/Multinational Force? (Learned equip, tactics, etc)
- How much did you learn about US military command and control structure and planning? (Learned US C & C)
- How much did this training improve your understanding of US values? (Understanding US values)





In all cases, the average response indicated a moderate to great amount of value in the training received. Less than 10 percent of students indicated little to no value in any of the categories. Most of the low value responses related to courses of a very technical nature. For example, only 3 percent of students attending a "Professional Military Education" course indicated a low increase in their understanding of US Command and Control procedures, while 33 percent of students attending "technical training" indicated a low increase in understanding. Such results are predictable by the content of the course— Professional Military Education courses (such as the War and Staff Colleges, Captains Career Courses, Squadron Officers' School, NCO development, etc) focus on high-level military skills, while technical courses (such as airborne (parachute) or electrician training) train on just a specific military skill set.



These responses are consistent across multiple years of data collection—further confirming the validity of the data.

Questions relating to democracy in the United States, the civilian control of the military and human rights:

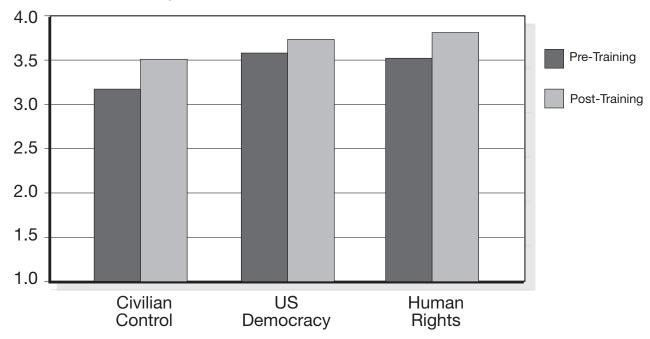
- Before training, what was your view of civilian control of the military?
- After training, what is your view of civilian control of the military?
- Before training, what was your view of democracy in the United States?
- After training, what is your view of democracy in the United States?
- Before training, what was your understanding of international human rights standards?
- After training, what is your understanding of international human rights standards?

Student Narratives

"I think that people need the right to speak freely in order to participate actively in the development of their countries." – *IMET field-grade officer's thoughts on protecting human rights*

"People are really free, there is nobody in jail because he expressed his political points of view."

"I saw how people can express their opinion at any time without being afraid of any thing and this was my idea about US before i come but now it is more."—Two field-grade IMET students' thoughts on US democracy



These responses also indicate that IMET training significantly alters student perceptions about civilian control of the military, democracy in the United States, and internationally recognized human rights. These changes are significant statistically and are even more meaningful when broken out by region on the following page.

Student Narratives

"People are friendly in the US and multiracial society works apparently good. Otherwise the US society might have explode if incinated from the outside—as it was in tsar's Russia in year 1917!"

"Before coming here, I thought that USA is a mixture of nations without identity. While staying here, I changed my thinking completely and I can tell you that you have a strong identity and I like that the nationalism is a very important issue here."—Two IMET senior civilians' thoughts on what they have learned about the US in training.

Civilian Control of the Military, 2008 Data

Question (mean score) (I=very negative; 4=very positive)				
Region (N)	Pre-training view of Civilian control of military	Post-training view of Civilian control of military	Pre to Post difference	T value (significance— indicating high degree of certainty in all regions)
Western Hemisphere	3.14	3.45	.31	4.3
European and Eurasian	3.21	3.44	.23	6.16
Near Eastern	3.03	3.53	.50	4.21
African	3.03	3.68	.65	8.36
South and Central Asian	3.11	3.61	.50	5.44
East Asian and Pacific	3.14	3.55	.41	3.75

The regional breakout shows meaningful difference in each region between pre-and post-training views on civilian control of the military. Regionally, the differences between pre and post values are also significantly different. European and Western-hemisphere nations, with a longer history of civilian control of the military, show a positive

change in understanding, but less than twice the difference of African nations—many of whom have historically viewed military control of civilians as a needed post-colonial reality on their continent. IMET training in the US influences significant numbers of these military members to have a much more favorable view of civilian control of the military.

Change in View of Democracy in the US, 2008 Data

Question (mean score) (I=very negative; 4=very positive)				
Region (N)	Q14. Pre- training view of democracy in US	Q15. Post-training view of Civilian control of military	Mean Difference	T value (significance— indicating high degree of certainty in all regions)
Western Hemisphere	3.45	3.66	.21	3.35
European and Eurasian	3.42	3.53	.11	3.13
Near Eastern	3.58	3.69	.11	.94 (not signficiant)
African	3.47	3.78	.31	3.27
South and Central Asian	3.40	3.68	.28	3.27
East Asian and Pacific	3.57	3.70	.14	1.63 (low significance)

Again, the data shows significant regional differences – in this case the change in perception of democracy in the US Once again, African students show the most improvement in perceptions of US democracy. They start with an average view of US democracy, and end training with the highest opinion of US style democracy. Of interest also is the improvement in Western Hemisphere and South/ Central Asians from a lower view of US democracy (albeit still averaging very positive) to a predominantly very positive view. Finally, Europeans start with the second lowest view of American democracy and this view improves the least among surveyed IMET students. As this data was collected during the Bush years with negative perceptions of the US electorate which elected President Bush,23 it will be interesting to view any possible changes in the 2009–2010 data.

Student Narratives On The Most Important Human Right To Protect

"Freedom of speech, mobility and ownership of property—all this are link to security—free elections as well—also US should help countries like Zimbabwe either forcefully or not and not only oil rich nations. If you want to help Africa really."

—Government civilian

"The right to work, study, speak, live happily." — *Junior enlisted*

"No human is more human than another human. All humans are equal and should be treated with respect, whether during war or peace time."—*Junior officer*

"Life of the people, their right to live, as SAR [Search and Rescue] School says, always ready, that others may live."—*Field grade officer*

"Based on my training and other experiences in the United States, the most important human rights to preserve and defend are freedom of speech, of movement."—General officer

Change in Knowledge of International Human Rights, 2008 Data

Question (Question mean score and sample size for each region) (I=very limited; 4=extensive)				
Region (N)	Q17. Pre-training knowledge of international human rights standards	Q15. Post-training knowledge of international human rights standards	Mean Difference	T value (significance— indicating high degree of certainty in all regions)*
Western Hemisphere	3.26	3.54	.28	4.75
European and Eurasian	3.27	3.63	.36	9.04
Near Eastern	3.17	3.72	.56	4.54
African	3.16	3.73	.57	8.99
South and Central Asian	2.98	3.58	.59	6.78
East Asian and Pacific	3.12	3.44	.33	3.31

^{*}All T values significantly exceed the threshold for statistical significance of difference

Once again, African IMET students show high improvement in another IMET focus area – international human rights. South and Central Asian, as well as Near Eastern, students also indicate a significant increase in self-perceived knowledge. Review of the narrative responses confirms that students have retained many of the key points of human rights instructions. As one student states, "Based on the background of the country (South Africa) that I am coming from, US is very much advanced regarding human rights. There is lot to learn from the US they way they do their things."

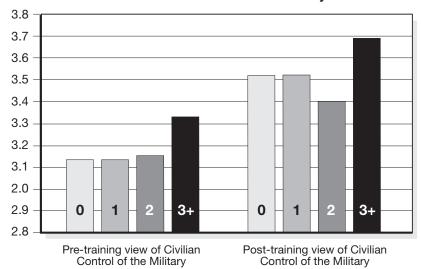
Potential for Student Bias

A weakness of the method of the "IMET Survey" is the high likelihood of student bias. The students have just received a full-expense-paid training experience in the US A likely response is to complete this survey in a manner which reflects gratitude for the US (although such bias in itself indicates potential benefits to the US in paying for military leaders education in the US, it is not the rationale for IMET).

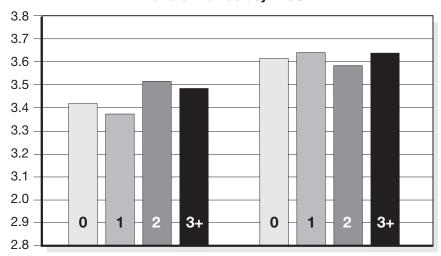
It would be very difficult to eliminate this bias, but one method to determine validity of the data in spite of this bias is to examine repeat IMET students. If students' "pre-training" response in survey questions improves when returning to the US for additional training, then this indicates that the original benefit was valid; that improvements "stuck" to IMET graduates as is evident by improving pre-training scores.

The data, in fact, demonstrates that IMET benefits do "stick" to graduates.

Views of Civilian Control of the Military



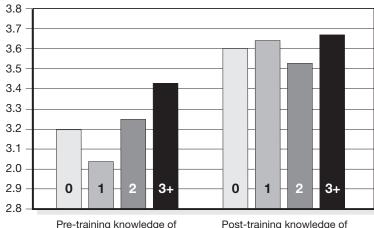
Views of Democracy in US



Pre-training view of Democracy

Post-training view of Democracy

Knowledge of International Human Rights



Pre-training knowledge of International Human Rights

Post-training knowledge of International Human Rights

In all three studied areas, returning IMET students showed a higher initial self-perception than their first-time IMET student peers. Thus it is demonstrated that IMET values "stick" to graduates after their IMET training in the US The post-training values tend to cluster together, indicating less differential as training concludes, but the spread in pre-training perceptions of knowledge directly relates to the number of times the student has previously trained in the US and indicates a benefit to repeat training experiences.

Conclusions

Every single question evaluated showed significant improvement in student understanding of topics related to the purposes of IMET, and these values exceed the statistical thresholds for random chance. The "IMET Survey" shows a positive benefit from IMET in all measured categories and all studied subgroups in questions relateing to the purposes of IMET.

The IMET program is based upon a belief that educating militaries in the areas of IMET emphasis will change national behavior. Because any US IMET recipient nation receives only a small amount of training in any given year, measurements of change in national behavior due to IMET receipt is impossible (any change would be overwhelmed by uncontrolled factors). The Constructivism theory of international relations, however, argues that international relationships of a nation are "constructed" by the shared ideas of the society. As IMET attempts to change the ideas of the military, a measure of the change in the ideas of IMET students (as directed by the FAA purposes for IMET) provides a good measure as to the IMET program's effectiveness in meeting FAA required purposes. IMET student attitudes as measured in the "IMET Survey," in fact, demonstrate significant improvement after training. This relationship is validated further as returning students retain a higher belief in their understanding of these issues.

International Relations theory shows that such changes will impact the military/national behavior in IMET graduates' organizations. This point has also been demonstrated by Atkinson in her study on military engagement and the socialization of states²⁴ . . . international military training programs demonstrate effectiveness in influencing military behavior. This analysis of the results of this data

demonstrates that the IMET program is meeting its mandated purpose.

Recommendations Based On This Research

In addition to demonstrating that the IMET program meets its mandated purpose, analysis of the data permits the following recommendations.

- 1. The IMETP should continue. It meets its mandated purposes at very low cost to the US each year (less than \$100 million). Other studies show great benefit to the US forces and the rise of IMET graduates to positions of prominence in their home nations. IMET offers great benefit to the US taxpayers and improves the perceptions of the US in the minds of graduates.
- 2. The IMETP should receive additional funding to increase student training in the United States. For over fifteen years, Republicans and Democrats have argued that IMET should increase to \$100 million. Inflation adjusted, this target value would exceed \$150 million since the \$100 million proposed by President Clinton. The proven benefits of this program justify such an increase along with an increase in international student capacity at US military schools.
- 3. IMET expansion should include maximum participation in US residence courses. Short duration mobile training teams likely would not have the same benefits as indicated in this study but further research would need to be conducted to validate this opinion.
- 4. Professional military education courses should continue as the cornerstone of the IMETP. In every question category, graduates of PME returned more positive scores indicating greater benefit from their training. PME also permits the US to reach the "best and brightest" of our emerging partners.

Student Narrative

"There is clear freedom in presenting the point of views among people and American people can express their point of view without any fear or pressure...democracy has been conducted well in the USA."—*IMET PME graduate*

Endnotes

- 1. US Departments of State and Department of Defense. *Foreign Military Training Report* (Washington, DC, 2007).
- 2. Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management Presentations Web Page, http://www.disam.dsca.mil/Research/Presentations/2%20introsc.ppt.
- 3. Ibid.
- Government Performance and Results Act of 1993, http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/mgmtgpra/gplaw2m.html.
- 5. US Department of State. Congressional Budget Justification: Foreign Operations (Washington, DC, 2007), http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/cbj/.
- 6. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, www.usaid.gov/policy/ads/faa.pdf.
- 7. Amnesty International USA., Report on Human Rights Violations in Countries Receiving US Security Assistance (New York, 1996).
- 8. Duncan L.Clarke and Daniel D. O'Connor, *Send Guns and Money: Security Assistance and US Foreign Policy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1997).
- For background on IMET and security assistance programs see DISAM Journal Indices, available from http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/ JOURNAL_index.asp.
- 10. Barry L. Brewer, *United States Security Assistance Training of Latin American Militaries: Intentions and Results* (Air Force Institute for Technology, 1995).
- 11. Anthony K. Crawford, *The Search for Stability in Sub-Saharan Africa: An American Perspective* (United States Army Command and General Staff College, 1998).
- 12. Todd R. Calhoun, Evaluating Security Assistance Programs: Performance Evaluation and the Expanded International Military Education and Training (E-IMET) Program (Naval Postgraduate School, 1998).
- 13. John A. Cope, *International Military Education and Training: An Assessment* (Washington, DC, National Defense University: 1995).
- 14. Stephen E. Keeling, *International Military Education and Training: A Shaper of the Security Environment of the Future* (United States Army War College, 1999).

- 15. James J. Kratsas, *International Military Education and Training: A Force Multiplier with Relevance for the 21st Century* (United States Army War College, 1997).
- 16. Ronald H. Reynolds, E-IMET: Is it Accomplishing its Human Rights Focus in Latin America? (Diss. The University of Alabama: 2001).
- 17. United States of America. General Accounting Office, Security Assistance: Observations on the International Military Educational and Training Program (Washington, DC, 1990).
- 18. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.
- 19. Thomas C. Bruneau, Kathleen Peggar, and Elisabeth Wright, *Impact of International Military Education (IMET) on Graduate Education* (Naval Post Graduate School: Center for Civil-Military Relations, 2007 Draft).
- 20. Ibid.
- 21. US Army War College, States Under Anarchy, https://dde.carlisle.army.mil/documents/courses_09/DE2202/DE2202_ebook.cfm?block=1.
- 22. Charles Krupnick, Constructivism, https://dde.carlisle.army.mil/documents/courses_09/readings/2202-Constructivism-script.doc.
- 23. Andrew Grice, "Most Europeans Dislike Bush's Foreign Policies," *The Independent*, September 7, 2005, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/most-europeans-dislike-bushsforeign-policies-505817.html.
- 24. Carol Atkinson, "Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972-2000," *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (2006).

About the Authors

The research for this paper was complied by Dr. Mark T. Ahles of the Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, Dr. Michael T. Rehg of the Air Force Institute of Technology and California State University, Chico, Mr. Aaron Prince of the of the Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, and Ms. Litsu Rehak of the Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management.